## Washington Sentinel.

NEBRASKA AND KANSAS.

SPEECH OF HON. P. S. BROOKS,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA, IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, March 15, 1854, On the bill providing Territorial governments for Nebraska and Kansas.

Mr. BROOKS said : Mr. CHAIRMAN: I desire to express my

views upon the bill which is engrossing the thoughts of every member on this floor, and I wish to do so before the ground is altogether covered by the army of speakers who are holding themselves in reserve. Should aught of intemperance of language escape me in the re-marks I am about to make, I trust that it may be regarded as directed towards principles and positions, and not to the persons from whom they

I have lived long enough to learn that to do justice to the opinions and even prejudices of others is the surest way to secure a just con-

sideration of my own.

Nor, sir, does it jump with my humor or my appreciation of honor to assail those who, in obedience to a local sentiment, are averse to a resort but too common in a warmer latitude. It is a cheap display of chivalry to insult when no risk is incurred; and, for my own part, I would prefer the condition of him who bears the wound than of him by whom it is, under such circumstances, needlessly inflicted.

I am frank to avow my belief that it would have been wiser, and in better keeping with the general interests of the country, had the bill providing territorial governments for Ne-braska and Kausas been delayed until the presssing wants of the people of those territories caused them to apply to Congress for re-

The friends of the bill maintain that the socalled Missouri compromise line has been superseded by subsequent acts of legislation which are inconsistent with it, and that it is therefore virtually annulled. I would have preferred to continue in this atitude. It would have given us the advantage of a defensive

position.

But, sir, the bill is before us, and it becomes us of the south to avail ourselves of the opportune occasion to bring back congressional le gislation within constitutional restraints-to reassert the great constitutional principle, that as the people are the source of all political power, they have, in the capacity of sovereign States, the inherent right of self-government, and to regain our constitutional right to go with our property of every description upon any part of the public domain.

We rejoice to unite with our brethren of the west in so patriotic an enterprise; and we rejoice that the stars of the Constitution and of empire are mingling their rays together in the We rejoice upon this coincidence of opinion between the people of two great sections, which are destined to grow together in prosperity and wealth, and which God has united in a common interest by that great highway of commerce which brings the treasures of the west into the lap of the south. Was the Wilmot proviso incorporated into the bill, I apprehend that no obstacle would be interposed to its passage by those who now oppose it. But, sir, a certain fraternity, who with humble pretensions have assumed to be the only reliable expounders of the Constitutionthe discoverers of a higher law than the law of God, in obedience to the peculiar tenets of which they are required to love their brothren in black more than those of the same color as themselves-tell us, in sanctimonious tones of senatorial dignity, to "maintain plighted faith." They object to the bill-

1st. Because of the assumption that it was the original policy of the country to exclude slavery from the Territories held in common by the States. 2d. Because of an act of legislation in 1820.

the consideration of which has been enjoyed by the slave States, and the benefits of which have not yet accrued to the free States. Recause of the assumed

the free and slave labor, and that the admission of slaves into these Territories will result in the exclusion of foreign emigrants. And 4th. Because of the immorality and the in expediency of slavery.

I propose to reply to the objections in the order which they are stated; and I invite your attention first to that which is based upon what is assumed to have been the original policy of the country. It is not surprising that among a people who have just emerged from a wasting and protracted war, waged in defence of their own liberty, that, in the first enjoyment of that liberty, many should have been precipi tated into extravagances of opinion and of act There was an exultant feeling of triumph, nat ural, vet dangerous, which pervaded every rank of society; and the prosperity of the American States was never more critically perilled than at that period of time which intervenes between the termination of the war of independence and the adoption of the federal constitution.

While the States were employed in a common resistance to a common enemy, they were secure against rivalries and jealousies amongst themselves. But with the relaxations of peace came the intoxications of liberty. We were then in "the infancy of the science of constitutions and of confederacies;" and never was our victory complete until the liberty we had achieved had been regulated by law, and the rights of the States in their relations to each other and to the general government, then about to be established, had been defined and guarantied by a written constitution.

That the light of liberty during this interval should have been reflected from the white to the black man is but natural; and that men high in fame for wisdom and patriotism, have uttered sentiments adverse to the extension of slavery, it would be unfair and untrue to deny.

Mr. Muson, of Virginia, in the federal convention, avowed the opinion that slaves "bring the judgment of heaven on a country. As nanext world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He lamented, however, that some of our eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic."

Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, said: "Let us not intermeddle. As population in der slaves useless. Slavery, in time, will not be

Authority may be adduced in support of a thousand exploded theories. Authority, and high authority, may be brought for converting this government into a consolidated despotismauthority for giving the President a life-tenure of office, and authority for conferring upon him the appointment of members of the branch of this Congress. And to what does this authority amount? You may as well give the authority of Quakers against war, and the authority of Shay's rebellion against the blessings of the very liberty we had achieved by

Of what weight is the authority of Mr. Ma son in Virginia now, that the judgment of Heaven is visited upon the owners of slaves? And of what weight in Connecticut is the wholesome remonstrance of Mr. Ellsworth, let

as not intermeddle? Sir, the judgment of Heaven has fallen upon our land, and in such plenteous showers of pros-perity and of greatness, that the nations of the Old World turn their eyes upon us in admiration and amazement. Our staple productions, the productions of our slaves, fill every market in both hemispheres. They have so interwoven themselves with the occupations, the habits, and the necessaries of man, that a failure of the slave crops of America would threaten revolution in Europe, and bring ruin upon

blind fanaticism, would now spoil the udder which has fed and fattened them.

The policy of a government is not to be sarned from isolated opinions, irresponsibly given in loose debate, but by its solemn enactments, executed in proper form, and by competent authority.

But, sir, since this point has been made, we may learn more of the policy of the country by examining the opinions of other gentlemen f the federal convention. Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, observed that "the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on

in the United States, and that the good sense of the several States would, probably, by de grees complete it. Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, "considered i nadmissible, on every principle of honor and safety, that the importation of slaves should be authorized to the States by the Constitu-

Mr. Luther Martin, of Maryland, was for rohibiting the importation of slaves. "It was aconsistent with the principles of the revolution, and dishonorable to the American charac

ter, to have such a feature in the Constitution. Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to slaves, but ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it."

Mr. Langdon, of New Hampshire, was strennous for giving this power (prohibiting the importation of slaves) to the general government. He could not with a good conscience leave it with the States who would then go on with the traffic, without being restrained by the opinions here given-that they will themselves cease to import slaves."

The opinion of Mr. Mason has already been All this is plain enough, and puts the general

disposition of the convention to prevent the importation of slaves beyond question. But where were the Carolinas and Georgia

Mr. Rutledge said: "The question, at present, is, whether the south rn States shall or shall not be parties to the Inion? If the northern States consult their interests, they will not oppose the increase of slaves. which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers."

Mr. Pinckney said .

"South Carolina never can receive the plan (the Constitution) if it prohibits the slave trade. In every proposed extension of the powers of Con-gress, that State had expressly and watchfully exepted that of meddling with the importation o

General Pinckney "declared it to be his firm opinion that, if himself and all his colleagues were to sign the Constitution, and use their personal influence, it would be of no avail towards obtaining the assent of their constituents South Carolina and Georgia could not do without slaves."

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, "thought that the southern States could not be members of the Union, if the clause (unrestricting importations) should be rejected

Mr. Baldwin, of Georgia, "had conceived national objections alone to be before the convention; not such as like the present, which were of a local nature. Georgia was decided on this point."

Well, sir, with these points of difference so fully expressed, so strongly urged on the one side, and sternly resisted on the other, what was the result?

A few other extracts, expressive of the policy of the country, will explain: Mr. Sherman said, "it is better to let the southern States import slaves than to part with them, if they made that a sine our non.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris said, "these things form a bargain among the northern and south-

Mr. Ellsworth said:

"If we do not agree on this middle and moderate ground, he was afraid we should lose two States, with such others as may be disposed to stand aloof-should fly into a variety of shapes and directions, and, most probably, confederations, and not without bloodshed."

tion of the whole matter is simply this: The northern States having found slaves unprofitable | terms. south. Under this mistake, they yielded to the obstinacy (if you please) of the Carolinas and first forced upon her by a northern majority, Georgia, and the importation of slaves was authorized by law until 1808, a period of twenty

Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia were then ndifferent on the subject, for they, too, had found them unprofitable, and knew that they could sell off to the States further south upon better terms if the importation from Africa was About this time Mr. Jefferson said of to-

oacco: "It is a culture productive of infinite wretched-

ess: those employed in it are in a continued state f exhaustion, beyond the powers of nature to upport. Little food of any kind is raised by them, (tobacco growers ;) so that men and animals on these farms are badly fed, and the earth is rapidly mpoverished. Nor was the right to import slaves all that the pro-slavery States retained and secured by

the compact; for though they were a minority in the convention, yet so confident was the north of the entire worthlessness of slaves, and so pertinacious the pro-slavery States in their refusal to enter the Union upon any other terms than those which now appear in the compact, that they guarantied to all the States equal rights in the public domain ; and, by the secand section of the fourth article of the Constitution, contracted to deliver up our runaways, and, if necessary, to protect us and all the States against any kind of "domestic vio-

lence. Yet we are now told that it was the policy of the country to exclude slavery from all national

Sir, there is a suspicious sound in that word national, which jars upon southern ears, and when coupled with the doctrines it inculcates, comes athwart the gale like the low whistle of the bandit, and admonishes honest men to look well to the security of their estates.

It is worse than absurd to quote the indi idual opinions of any man against the institution of slavery which were expressed before hose great staples, which are now grown so abundantly in the south and southwest, entered as controlling elements into the commerce of the world. In every aspect which you may view it, the appearance is different. The destruction by the war of the little commerce we possessed, together with the absence of that reat staple which has since given employment to millions, had well nigh rendered property in slaves not only valueless, but an absolute incumbrance. The times were propitious both to schemes of emancipation and to the entertainment of sentiments of pseudo-philanthropy. Lands were abundant, labor cheap, the cottor gin unknown, sugar uncultivated by us, the tobacco market overstocked, and the profitable culture of rice thought to be confined to tide-water swamps; and, as a corollary to these postulates, the negro almost too expensive an article for a poor man to keep. The moral and intellectual character of the negro, his peculiar daptation to the culture of our greatest staoles, the staples themselves in a measure, and the great and varied uses to which they have

since been applied, were then wholly unknown. The territorial expansion of our country, its numerical strength, and our magnificent commerce, had never been foreshadowed by the most fervid imagination. In 1741 but eight bales of cotton were exported from America. In 1791 (an interval of fifty years) but forty-seven bales. The invention of Whitney came into use in 1793, and our present production is upwards of three millions of bales, worth over a hundred millions of dollars, and which the

negro is only to be effected by his servitude to a superior race, and the ameliorating influence a superior race, and the ameliorating influence of an intelligence borrowed from the white

man. But, sir, we repudiate all authority but the Constitution. If by that instrument it can be shown that we of the south have been committed to an odious inequality of right in the publie domain, then we will submit; but so long as we are able to hold with one hand this charter of our equal rights before the eyes of our child ren, and to defend it with the other, you will find any and every authority other than the

Constitution insufficient to restrain us. I will next proceed to the second objection to the bill, which is because of an act of legislation, passed in 1820, the consideration of which has been enjoyed by the south, and the benefits of which have not yet accrued to the free States. We are asked to revere the provisions of the act of March 6, 1820, as sacredly binding upon honor, and told that a refusal in volves the turpitude of fraud.

Since the first assemblage of delegates from American States, to confer upon matters affecting the general welfare, questions connected with the institution of slavery have been the never-failing source of sectional disagreement and legislative contention. The foundations of lished by the magic of compromise. It was compromised in the Congress of the confederation, and opened again in the federal convention. After eliciting much of eloquence, and more of patriotism, it was seemingly settled by the adoption of the Constitution, but again disturbed by the acquisition of territory from France. Here again the fires of discord were smothered over only to break out with fiercer violence upon the organization of territory acquired of Mexico.

Again, the virtues of compromise were invoked, and with a triumphant success, which was heralded forth to the world as a specific against the ills of State. But three short years have passed, and again the subject is before us. with its extremes as thoroughly charged with opposite qualities as before the equilibrium had en created by the aid of compromise. This rehearsal of the general history of the several compromises is made to show that there is no manner of affinity between slavery and compromise. We are warned by the past of the entire insufficiency of compromises to secure a finality of the subject, and I submit that it is more manly, wiser, and more honest, from

henceforth to eschew the word. The question of slavery was legally settled when the States, which were then parties to the compact, ratified the Constitution. It thereby became a part and parcel of the supreme law of the land, and no graver legislative mistake, none so dangerous to the south or so embarrassing to the Constitution-loving portion of the north, was ever committed, as when the stern letter of the Constitution was forgotten in the lelusive attractions of a hollow compromise.

But, sir, were we, for the sake of argument. to admit the constitutionality of the act known as the Missouri compromise, it would not, in justice, strengthen the position of the opponents of this bill. In fact, it weakens them, and exposes their entire insincerity; because it is proof of record that the very men who are cry-ing out the bond! the bond! have, on every occasion and opportunity, violated its spirit and meaning, and, in their interference with the slave trade in the District of Columbia and in the matter of California, the very bond itself. I know it will be replied, that the people of California excluded slavery by their own constitution: but the journal of this House will show. by the voting which is therein recorded, that the price of her admission was the exclusion of slavery. Were we to grant that the "Missouri bond," (as it is somewhere called,) was constitutional and fair, the opponents of this bill are estopped from pleading it in the present issue, by the fact that they themselves have uniformly disregarded its provisions. It is, I believe, a universally admitted principle of justice and Now, sir, we begin to see somewhat more of the "policy of the country," and the explanareleases the other from all obligations to its

acquiesced in this Missouri line, which was at to overleap it. Believing that we would be excluded by natural laws; which north of 36° 30' are adverse to the profitableness of slavelabor, we became reconciled to a law which we knew to be unconstitutional. Continually harassed almost beyond endurance, we were willing, for the sake of quiet, to adopt this line as a final settlement of the question. Actuated by these considerations, we have made repeated offers to extend the line to the Pacific oceanoffers which vindicate our fidelity to the contract, and which, had they been accepted in the good faith in which they were tendered, might have given stability to the adjustment.

On the 10th August, 1848, an amendment to the Oregon bill, then before the Senate, was offered, providing for the extension of the compromise line to the Pacific, and passed that ody, by a vote of 33 yeas and 21 navs. The

" Messrs. Allen, Atherton, Baldwin, Bradbury, Breese, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts. Dayton, Dix, Dodge, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Niles, Phelps, Upham, Walker, and Web

The bill thus amended was sent to this House, and rejected by the freesoil vote, which

was unanimous against it. My immediate predecessor moved to amend bill, originating in this House, which provided a territorial government for Oregon, and in which the Wilmot proviso was incorporated, by declaring in effect that, inasmuch as slavery was excluded from Oregon by operation of the law known as the Missouri compromise, we were content to abide by its terms; and it was promptly rejected, as insufficient for the pur-

oses and designs of freesoilers. In 1850, when the bill for the admission of California was before the Senate, Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, moved to amend, by making 36° 30' the southern boundary of the State; and it

was lost-23 yeas, 33 nays. Amendments to the same effect were subseuently twice offered, first by Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, and again by Mr. Turney, of Tennessee, and both rejected. But why multiply instances. I have referred to but one which occurred in this House, because we all know that for years the only hope of the south has been in the conservatism of the Senate. For upwards of thirty years has the south, in observance of an ac quiescence unwisely yielded, submitted to the asults of an exclusion, and by a geographical line, from a common territory, secured by com-mon treasure; while the freesoilers of the north, in obedience to the dying injunction of their great captain to "persevere," have persevered in their encroachments to the south of the line.

Our section of the country has been, throughout this entire period, flooded with abolition prints and publications of the most inflammatory character; the peace of our society, and the security of our lives and property, endan-gered by fanatical emissaries; our deluded slaves enticed away under the cover of night and their owners murdered, in the broad light of day, in endeavoring to secure them; our people insulted, through their representatives on this floor, by petitions crammed with false-hood and slander; and the bond itself cancelled by an attempt to fix the Wilmot proviso upon

Arkansas and Texas.
But, sir, worse than all, as if to mortify sensibilities made acute by grief, to grind insults into hearts made tender by sorrow, and to rob the widowed southern mother of her only consoation-the consolation that her husband or child had died in the cause of his whole country—while the gore of the heroes of Tennessee, of Mississippi, and Carolina was wet upon the plains of Mexico, a bill was introduced, in the hot haste of avaricious cupidity, and passed

thousands of our own countrymen, who, in their that the elevation and Christianization of the this House, which excluded their kindred of the south from the very territory which had been ourchased with their blood.

Nor, sir, is this all; for, in violation of the spirit and letter of the compromise which au-thorized the admission of Missouri as a State, within one year from its date this House refused her admission, because her people had by their State constitution excluded free negroes from her borders. The freesoilers have District: have endeavored to fix their doctrines pon forts and public grounds in every quarter f the country; and have dared to let the pollution of their thoughts rest upon the grave of Washington, shielded though it be by the sovereignty of Virginia.

I submit, sir, that I have shown an entire failure of consideration. All this, and much more besides, which will be made appear from the records of the country by others who will follow me, and the bond unimpeached by the

But, sir, we are told that this is no violation of the contract; for although the act of 1820 prohibits slavery north of the line, yet it leaves question open south of the line. Sir, I will not argue a proposition so perfidiously monstrous. It is enough, if anything be want ing to satisfy any honest man of the utter folly this government have been threatened by its of compromise; and admonishes us to blot out throes, and as often has repose been re-established upon our statutes.

The authority of Mr. Mor roe, and the south ern members of his cabinet, [Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Wirt, and Mr. Crawford,] is given for the constitutionality of the Missouri comprimise. Mr. Calhoun always denied that the compromise had the authority of his sanction. In his speech in the Senate of 27th June. 1848, he said expressly that it was "carried by northern votes. and opposed almost unanimously by the South but yet acquiesced in by us from the love for the Union." It may be that the President, as well as Mr. Wirt and Mr. Crawford, acquiesced from the same motive.

But again we are told that the south has had the full enjoyment of the benefits of the compromise, for that under it four slave States have been admitted into the Union, while the free States have but Iowa. To this it is sufficient to reply, that out of the northwest Territory (once the property of a slave State) four free States had been carved out, and their admission into the Union secured a preponderance of po-litical power to the non-slaveholding States in this House. Wisconsin has since been added and, in violation of the ordinance of 1787. which restricted the number of States to be created out of the northwest Territory to five and no more, a part of this territory has been thrown with Minnesota, which will result in securing to the free States the political power of six States, one more than was stipulated in

the ordinance. Mr. Chairman, the end of the whole matter is, the question admits of no compromise. The men of the north regard it a moral, a social, and a political evil. We regard it a moral, so-cial, and political good. If both are sincere, (and I believe that thousands are, who, ignorant of the character of the negro and the workings of the system, judge of the institution by false standards and prejudiced sympathies,) then no compromise should be tolerated.

There is no middle ground between right and wrong, and those of us who desire to perpetuate this government, whether from the north or south, have no alternative but to take this question of slavery back to where it was left by the

Constitution. Here we will find authority to sustain us against assaults from every quarter. Here we find authority for the equal rights of the States, and here authority for the citizens of any State removing with his property of any description into the territory of the United States.

We are not asked to legislate slavery into Nebraska and Kansas, but to carry out a good old republican principle, that the people shall decide for themselves the character of their municipal government, and be left in a free condition to elect for themselves, when they nultiply into States, slavery or no slavery.

bill is in entire consonance with our republican theory, but a recurrence to the true doctrines of the Constitution. It pursues the would teach them that genuine philanthropy same line of policy which obtained in regard | demands its extension. reference to New Mexico, nearly all of which lies south of that line, and in reference to both of which the question at issue was left exclu-

sively to the judgment of their own people.

It is a policy, utterly irreconcilable with the rovisions of the Missouri compromise, inconsistent with its spirit and letter, and, in its effect, nullifies and obliterates it.

I next approach the argument urged in oposition to the bill: that the admission of slaves will operate to the exclusion of foreign immigrants; and I quote as my text the following paragraph of a remarkable manifesto, which invokes the outward pressure of hired letterwriters, and the "conductors of newspapers in the German and other foreign languages," upon the action of Congress:

"From the rich lands of this large Territory, patriotic statesmen have anticipated that a free, industrious, and enlightened population will extract abundant treasures of individual and public wealth. There it has been expected freedomloving emigrants from Europe, and energetic and intelligent laborers from our own land, will find homes of comfort and fields of useful enterprise. If this bill shall become a law, all such expectation will turn to grievous disappointment. The blight of slavery will cover the land. The home-tead law, should Congress enact one, will be worthless there. Freemen, unless pressed by a hard and cruel necessity, will not and should not work beside

I do not say that such would be the effect, but if any earthly consideration could induce me to cast my vote in favor of inflicting the Wilmot proviso upon a territorial bill, it would be the consideration that unnaturalized for-eigners should be excluded as well as slaves, revere, with a patriotic gratitude, the memories of those illustrious characters who never ecame American citizens, but whose names are a part of the history of American liberty. I appreciate the worth of hundreds of meritorious citizens who first saw the light of day in foreign climes, and cherish for them all those elevated sentiments which are awakened by the word countryman. I rejoice in the equality of their social and legal rights, and am not jeal-ous of their political advancement. And yet, sir, so firm is my conviction that the liberties and institutions of our country are in greater danger from the influx of a foreign population than from every other cause united, that I avow in my place an entire readiness so to amend the naturalization laws, and extend the period of political pupilage, as will secure a better knowledge of our theory of government, and give some promise that the privilege of citizenship

will be rightly appreciated, and not abused. I would not deny to any man who, upon faith our laws, has settled among us, with a bona fide intention of permanent residence, the legal or political rights of a naturalized citizen. But, sir, emigration is increasing into an evil; and t is time to prepare against it.

"Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes, et linguam, et mores, et cum tibicine chordas ob-

Things are not as they were. In the earlier days of this republic we needed an increase of country. We were then in a condition to Americanize by example and absorbtion. We associations and policy. Qur own people were less pragmatical, and foreigners less impu-

But, sir, our danger now is not from weakness, but from unwieldy and unregulated strength. The question with the statesman is not whence to draw a population, but how to regulate and discipline that which we have ow to preserve to the people the fullest enjoy-ent of property, of life, and of liberty, and ment of yet to restrain them within the wholesome limits of constitutional law.

They who guide the ship of state will find their powers of government sounded to the highest key in controlling the elements of fanaticism and propagandism, which are of home production, without the inflammatory influence of irresponsible conductors of newspapers of mobs. who mistake rant for reason

cense for liberty.

Such is the infatuation of a portion of the who oppose this bill, that, with the history of resumed to legislate upon slavery within this the foreign population in America fresh in in their memories-a history which, at the north, is but a succession of riots and of mobs in which private houses have been invaded, public edifices demolished, railroads subverted churches burned, and our citizens murderedthat they condescend to appeal even to those outcasts from the purlieus of the cities of the Old World to bring their influence to bear upon this federal legislature.

In pursuance of their madness, they have

contributed to swell this tide of corruption, which threatens their present peace and society, and which threatens us all in prospective by gratuitous donations of public land, to any and every foreigner, upon the sole condition o actual settlement.

Will it be said by freesoilers, in support of their philanthropy, that they desired thus to provide homes for the negro as well as for the whites? Then the proposition amounts to this, that we of the south, after being robbed of our slaves, are asked by abolitionists and freesoil-ers to relieve them of a population which they have corrupted into nuisances, by setting apart portion of territory, of which we are joint wners, for the benefit of these very runaways and free negroes, while our slaves and ourselves are to be deliberately excluded.

Sir, the freesoilers but reveal the political ases of slavery, when they make their appeals to foreigners for its restriction; and they but expose their counterfeited philanthropy, when they say "freemen, unless pressed by a hard and cruel necessity, will not, and should not, work beside slaves." Where, sir, is their regard for their brethren of the same color as themselves at the south, if they will fix upon us what they hold to be a "hard and cruel ne cessity?" This sentiment bears the earmarks of northern philantrophy, and is a pregnant commentary upon the immaculate doctrine they

profess-"to behold in every man a brother. I know, sir, that the equality-loving freesoil ers of the north, "unless pressed by a hard and cruel necessity," refuse to work beside slaves know that, after seducing them from their homes of cheerfulness and comfort at the south, they are left to starve in the streets. while the "freedom-loving emigrant from Europe monopolizes every avenue of thrift and of employment; and I also know that hundreds, who are now dragging out a miserable existence in want and in crime, would joyfully return to their former owners could they by nest labor but secure the necessary means. Let freesoilers come to the south, sir, and we will show them the white and the black man in a relation of friendship never dreamed of in their philosophy. We will show them slaves, devoted to the family interests, family name, and family honor of their masters. And we will show them, in every gentleman, a man who will pour out his money, and peril his life, if needs be, to protect his bondsman from cruelty and injustice. A majority of our best men, and many of our ablest men, have labored side by side with their slaves, through years of enjoyment, of usefulness, and respectability.

But, sir, the humanity of freesoilers would exclude the poor negro, who owes his condition to the cupidity of their ancestors, from "the rich lands of this large Territory," and surrender it, without fear or reward, to the descendants of, possibly, the very Hessians-the minions of King George, who warred against our liberties, when the negro, by his labor, fed the continental army of America.

Sir, the jealousy of the political power of slavery is not to be covered by so flimsy a veil; and let me tell those who are sincere in a morbid sympathy for the imaginary sufferings of slavery, and who, with incorrupt motives, indulge in schemes of restricting it, that a better knowledge of the workings of the institution

The operations of a great system are to be learned by an observation of the operation of smaller systems. In every section where there is a scarcity of land its value is increased. The poor, who might desire to enter it, are unable to buy; and those who are there are generally tempted, by an extravagance of price, to seek their fortunes elsewhere. The men of wealth absorb the small farms into large estates, from which they are frequently absent, and the management of which is usually intrusted to agents, who have no interest in them beyond their annual wages and a regard for their professional reputation. The character of this reputation is too often determined by no other consideration than the amount of the crops which are annually raised. Large gaugs of negroes are congregated upon large estates, with no social

intercourse but with each other. They are thus denied the watchful providence of the master, and the elevating influences of his association with them. Loyal to their owner, and proud of their relation to him, they are jealous of a substitute. Wanting in mental resources, imitative by nature, and conscious of a natural inferiority and dependence upon a superior race, when left to themselves, they become the prey of the wildest superstitions, and, removed from the example of their superiors,

they descend in the scale of creation. But, on the other hand, where lands are abundant they are also cheap: The poor man, when provided with a home, next looks around for something upon which he shall expend his successive annual gains, and which will bring the greatest amount of comfort and convenience to his family and himself. Should his money be invested in a negro, he introduces it into his family circle. The same hand that prepares the daily food for the master, prepares that also for the slave. They labor in the same field, drink from the same spring of water, and worship at the same altar. The negro is enlightened and ennobled by the association; and an experienced southern eye can tell at a glance, by the shining face, the more athletic form, and jaunty air, that his home is upon a small farm, and that the white man is the companion of his daily toil.

Were freesoilers permitted to carry out their plans of restricting slavery to its present limits, the first effect in the south would be to expel our poor white population, who could not resist the temptation of high prices for their lands; and the second would be still lower to degrade the negro, and more thoroughly to enslave him.

I will now proceed to the argument urged in opposition to this bill, which is drawn from the assumed immorality, tyranny, and inexpe-

diency of slavery.

It may be convenient to attact a constitutional right by appeals to the passions; but, so long as we are sustained at all points by the authority of law, we are not in very much dan-ger from sentiment. It may be that slavery was originally morally wrong but we know that it existed before the Christian era; that it was sanctioned by our Saviour, who enjoined upon servants obedience to their masters; that it was population for the security of our own people, and the development of the resources of the has obtained in France, England, Spain, Holhas obtained in France, England, Spain, Holland, and Brazil, and other modern States; and that the responsibility of its introduction in were at a wholesome distance from European these States is upon those who have gone before us. It may be that the sovereignty of these States should have been surrendered to

the general government, yet it was not done. It may be that property in slaves should have been prohibited by the Constitution; yet the been prohibited by the Constitution; yet the importation of slaves was authorized by it until the year 1808, and an import duty of ten dollars per head was imposed, as on other species of imported property, and constitutional provision made whereby this property might be recovered, notwithstanding "any law or regulation" to the contrary existing in the State

where it may be found. It may be that the equal rights of the States to the common territory of all should have been constitutionally ed. Yet it is constitutional law. It is too late to inquire what ought to have been done at the time this government was establised; our sole business is to know what was done.

If the appointed dispensers of ordinary sta-tute law were permitted to question its policy and expediency, we would soon be without law and if the dispensers of constitutional law are permitted to go behind the Constitution, we will oon be plunged into anarchy and disunion. Mr. Chairman, this cant about the immoral

ty and horrible tyranny of slavery may answer s purpose among the masses of the north, who have been systematically deceived, and for a purpose, but it is out of place here. If slavery be morally wrong, then those gentlemen who so regard it should have paused before they took the oath to support the Constitution which so thoroughly recognises it as a right. The very grave question presents itself to them, whether it be the greater sin to violate a moral sentiment peculiar to themselves, or to violate an oath which they have taken in the face of the country, and which is recorded in Heaven?

Abolitionists and their "twin brothers of the same womb," the freesoilers, are wholly exempt from the original sin of slavery. have long since washed their hands of this "pollution," and how, with one hand on the Bible and the other upon the price, they "make broad their phylacteries," and "thank God they are not as other men are." The responsibility of opening the Territories to slavery is with the makers of the Constitution—the responsibility of introducing it upon the people who have their election. The responsibility of preserving the Territories in a condition in which the equal rights of all the States may be represented, and in which the unforestalled judgment of the people may be exercised upon all master affecting themselves in their internal relations is the responsibility of an oath as binding up on freesoilers as upon other other men. If the lecision of the new States is for slavery, their withers are unwrung."

This universal difference of sentiment on the opposite sides of geographical lines must find ts solution out of the department of morals Good morals are the same everywhere, and undefiled religion is as pure in the planter on the banks of the Mississippi as with the Puri tan descendant of New England.

I have known of too many being converted by having bought a negro, and too many con erted by having sold all of theirs, to believe n this being a question of morality.

It is, sir, a question of political power be ween the manufacturing and agricultura States; and this cry about liberty, humanity and brotherhood, is but the cant of the dema gogue, who rides into place by deluding his friends, and endeavors to increase the strength of his section by presenting false issues to us

When, sir, a northern man meets me with manly frankness, and tells me that slave and free labor cannot coexist, or that our three fifths representation is unequal or unjust, I can reason with him with patience, and, if proper, agree to disagree. I would say to him, sir, i is as impossible for you to judge correctly of the institution of slavery as for a blind man to judge of colors. Your prejudices were formed before your judgment had matured. They have been fostered through life by association, misrepresentation, and remoteness. You know nothing of the negro character, or of his inti mate and inseparable connexion with the moral, social, and political condition of the south. If you wish either of us well, let us alone. If you would not crowd a ship already full, give us our constitutional rights in the Territories. The laws of God will regulate this matter between us. He has given us products which the multiplied wants of a rapidly-increasing population mperatively demand, and has restricted their production to sections in which you will not, and generally could not, live.

The incompatibility of free and slave labor is only a northern notion. It is not so at the south. You object to having three-fifths of our negroes represented, because of the political power it gives us. If they were free, the whole would be represented, as at the north; and the power of the increased to the extent of the remaining twofifths.

But, sir, when the positions assumed, and the drift of the argument deduced, are, by necessary implication, to charge my people with the blackest offences in the catalogue of crime, I meet it with scorn and detestation.

The history of the African contains proof apon every page of his utter incapacity for selfgovernment. His civilization depends upon is contact with and his control by the white man. Though elevated and educated by this association, taught by experience the blessings of law, and provided with all the machinery of government ready to his hand, when he is left to is own government, he descends to the level of the brute. Let freesoilers read the history of the blacks on the Island of Jamaica since their emancipation; and if one drop of genuine phi lonthropy runs in their veins, they will guard a population, of which they are par excellence the champions, from the evils of such a liberty.

The institution of slavery, which it is so fash-ionable now to decry, has been the greatest of blessings to this entire country. At the north it has served as vent for fanaticism, communism, and all those secretions of a morbid senti-mentality, which, without this safety-valve, would long since have resulted in a social explosion; and which will be as cruel to the pure and the good, when it does come, as it is certain in the future. From Maine to Texas the slaves have been the pioneers of civilization. The forest has bowed before their march, the earth yielded its rich harvest to their labor, and given us a commerce which excites the admiration and jealousy of the world. The power of commerce is greater than that of armies and navies. England saw wherein our strength lay, and endeavored to shear us of our power, by her experiment in the West Indies, which involved the loss of millions of dollars to her-self, and the miserable degradation of the very race which, with hypocritical philanthropy, she professed a desire to elevate and benefit.

Every section of this confederacy is now in the enjoyment of the rich rewards of the labor of the slave. He gives employment to the shipping interest of the east, wealth to the man-ufacturer of the north, and a market for the hemp and live stock of the west.

The market of the slave States is the best and most varied upon earth. In whatever section either of the great southern staples are grown, that particular staple is grown to the exclusion of the others. If raised in Virginia, cotton and rice are to be bought; if in the Carolinas and Georgia, tobacco and sugar; if in the avtreme south and southwest, rice and to the avtreme south and southwest are averaged by the intelligent and gallant spirits of the west. The southern backsliders of 1850 have vanished before the breath of popular indignation is avtreme south and southwest. cotton and rice are to be bought; if in the car-olinas and Georgia, tobacco and sugar; if in the extreme south and southwest, rice and to-bacco. We, of the south, are compelled to se-cure by exchange one or the other of even these few staples; while, by an injudicious policy, the slave States are dependent for every other article in the wide field of commerce up-on other sections than our own. Not only do our slaves secure to the free States the best home market upon earth, but, sir, they are at this moment paying, by the fruits of their la-bor, full two-thirds of the revenue of this gov-

ernment. It appears, from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, ending June 30, 1852, (which is the last which has been published,) that the total revenue of the country was \$49,728,386. 

From duties upon imports...... 47,339,326

the proposition is sustained, that two-thirds of tire revenue from imports is paid by the

labor of slaves. The total value of our domestic exports, in 1852, was \$192,368,984. Tobacco...... 10,031,253 Sugar..... 416,000 Manufactured cottons, raw material... 500,000 Naval stores.....

These alone making. . . . . . . . . . . . . . \$105,371,185 The probable proportional amount of other domestic exports from slave

Making total southern productions.\$126,401,691 The exports which were produced in all the non-slaveholding States may be stated as fol-

ows: Labor bestowed on refining sugar, on snuff, on tobacco, on cotton goods, &c.....\$5,572,773 roportion of all other domestic ex-

Total northern productions.....\$65,967,293

Giving an excess in favor of the slave

States of......\$60,434,398 How much of southern produce is manufactured at the north and exported as northern products, such as the cotton, which they ex-port in their wool, and in fur, in hats, and cordage, and flax, and thread, and saddlery, and wearing apparel, and umbrellas, and sun-shades, and in books and maps, &c., &c., such as spirits from molasses, it is as impossible for me as for the purchaser to ascertain. But enough has been shown to prove the indebtedness of every quarter of the Union to the humble slaves.

tution of slavery.

As great as is the disproportion of the exports from the slave and the non-slaveholding States, that disproportion is immeasurably in-creased in the amount of duties received in the espective ports of the north and south.

But, sir, I propose to show that other debts

of gratitude are due from the north to the insti-

The general average of duties in 1852 was a fraction over twenty-two per centum, and the total of imports amounted to \$212,945,442.

Making the amount received from imports......\$47,339,326 Now, sir, if there be any truth in the doctrine

that the producer of exports pays in reality the duties upon the imports, although the imports be credited to northern ports, the account be tween the two sections will stand thus: That while the southern States produce two-thirds of he entire domestic productions of the country, we collect but one-ninth of the duties on im ports. Nor is this all; for, according to the record, it appears that four-fifths of the public moneys thus collected have been appropriated to the non-slaveholding States for government purposes and internal improvements, (including bounties to fishermen, to light-houses, buoys, river and harbor improvements, custom-house expenditures, public buildings, mail routes, &c.)

But again: The total value of the domest and foreign exports of the United States in the year 1852 was \$209,658,386, and the total value of foreign imports \$212,945,442, making an aggregate of \$422,603,808. In the carriage of this amount of goods to and from foreign countries were employed 8,887 American vessels, with a capacity of 3,230,590 tons, and employing 115,253 men and 1,780 boys. How many of these vessels or of their crews belong

to the south it is unnecessary to ask. I have not been able to procure full reports for 1853; but the duties accruing on imported merchandise show an increase over those of 1852 of \$13,625,598, and, as a consequence, a proportional increase of the value of slave la bor to the people of the north.

Sir, I venture to declare the opinion that slavery has been the strongest bond of union between these States. Every section of the con federacy has reaped its blessings, and the peo-ple of the north have been too long accustomed to levy black-mail upon it now to deny them selves so fruitful a source of thrift and of profit The south has been the goose of the golden egg to the north, which freesoilers, in their mad cupidity and fanatical tamperings, are threaten ing to destroy.

If by some convulsion of nature the slave

States could be sunken beneath the level of the waters, it would involve millions of the inhabit ants of the north in bankruptcy, and ruin, and unutterable miseries.
Your lordly morchant and fattened manufacturer, your omnibus men and porters, might

all, with truth, exclaim-"Othello's occupation's gone!" Your cities, now your pride and strength, would dwindle into towns; your crowded harbors grow empty and wild; and thousands, who now live in

contentment and comfort, would beg for bread. Reverse the picture, and suppose the free States blotted from creation. Why, sir, the fact would be felt only by our railroad conduc-tors, captains of steamboats, and a few politi-cians with national aspirations. Our harbors would be filled with foreign shippings our marine towns grow into cities, rivalling in their magnificence and prosperity the present condi-tion of those of the north. Every kind of manufactory would spring up over our streams; our revenue would be collected and expended among the people who now bear an unequal burden in supporting this government, and who are unequally protected by it.

Mr. Chairman, the cry that the Union is in danger has been so often raised that men have ceased to regard it. But, sir, disunion may come while we are sleeping in security. Be-fore God, I believe that if this bill, which simply establishes the principle that the people in their condition of sovereign States should be permitted to decide for themselves upon all matters affecting their internal government, fails to pass this House, we will be in greater danger of disunion than at any time since the formation of this government.

I make no threat of disunion. The failure of the passage of this bill may not so result. But, sir, our young men are becoming familiar with the sound of a word which was breathed by their sires only in secrecy, or forced from

preach constitutional heresies, and more dangerous to enact them. I use the word danger because I feel it, and I am not unwilling to entertain the emotion whenever the stability of this government is threatened. I know, sir, that there are thousands at the south who, goaded by repeated acts of unequal legislation, thirst for disunion as the hart pants for the water-brook. But, sir, I am not of them yet; and it is my fervent desire that no circumstar may occur which will drive me into their ranks. We have too great a country for me to con-template its dismemberment without solicitude and pain. We have a country great in its history and its institutions, great in its science and arts, great in its statesmen and warriors, great in its wealth and the variety of its resources. We will continue to have a great It is a generally admitted principle of commercial law, that the amount of imports is regulated by the amount of exports, and since our revenue is raised almost wholly from duties upon imports, it follows, if it can be shown that two thirds of the domestic exports of this country are the products of slave labor, that